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the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before. Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

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If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy, but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

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I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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To Be Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Raven Turns (WaxikEna clan), Bear Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Short Bears Teeth (Tamisik clan), Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan), Tree Bark (Tamisik clan), and Crow (Prairie Chicken clan).

We met at Two Chief's lodge, since he was a brother-in-law of Crows Breast, one of the Old Wolves. We had enough bullboats in readiness to carry the party down the river. It was planned that the party should sing the songs belonging to the whole group[4] before leaving. All of us wore a white piece of cloth for a headgear and a white cloak reaching to the knees. While singing the songs, we made a noise by "hitting the mouth"; this brought a great crowd of onlookers. While we were singing, a heavy shower of rain fell, and water ran everywhere in small torrents. The leaders decided not to go that night; they would wait until the next evening just at sunset.

When the schedule was changed, each of us took up his medicine bundle and equipment and left the lodge. Upon reaching our earth lodge, I lay aside my medicine bag and moccasins and went out of the village to attend to my horses. While there I met an Hidatsa named Puts Away His Hair, who said he was organizing a war party of his own and wanted me to go along as a Young Wolf [scout].

He said, "When I was making the ceremony, my gods gave me one tepee at a place called Cedars Facing Each Other [southwest of the present town of Dickinson, North Dakota]."

When he said that, I was undecided what to do. I thought it over for a long time and finally decided to go with him as a Young Wolf. I had already left a bullboat with the other party. I prepared to leave immediately with the newly organized party. It did not take me long to get ready, since I had only to fetch my horse. My medicine bundle and moccasins were already packed for the other expedition I had planned accompanying. In a short time I plunged my horse into the muddy waters of the Missouri at a point just below the village and swam him to the opposite shore where we were to meet. It was late spring, and the river was quite high. Big Steal also changed over to this party.

We went to a sand bar to wait for the party. We were told that we would wait for him there, but we did not know who he meant. We later learned that they meant Four Bears, whom you are named after.

The leaders of Old Wolves were: Puts Away His Hair (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Sitting Elk (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Four Bears (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), and Shaved Forehead (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa). The others of the party were: Yellow Robe (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), Foolish Man (Tamisik clan, Louie Baker's brother, Mandan), Rattlesnake (Tamisik clan, Mandan), No Arm (Tamisik clan, Mandan), and Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan, nineteen years old, Mandan).

The route we took was a little east of the present post office of Defiance by Lake Gap [Mandan name]. There were plenty of antelope, and we had enough meat. Our route took us by Red Bank, where we made our first camp. From there we went directly toward the present site of the town of Dickinson and on the second night stopped on the river bottoms there. Next day we went on to Rose Bud Ground to the southwest. From our camp there, we climbed the grass-covered buttes from which we saw the hill called Home-of-the-Buffalo,

4. I.e., society songs.

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the place where the animals were believed to come out. Some of the party decided to go there to look at the place. On reaching Home-of-Buffalo Hill some of us looked around for the blue clay used for painting our faces and known to be plentiful there. On top of the hill there was a deep crack in the ground, and we could see the buffalo spirits' tracks in there, for it was well packed down. On the west side we came to a great cavity half-full of bones. There were so many bones there I think the animals must have been killed by lightning.

This was the same summer that Custer's party went through the country [1876]. Their army went just a little to the west of the hill and made a regular road. We went there to see their trail. When we came to where it went down to the Little Missouri River, we found skeletons of mules, wrecked and abandoned wagons, and much other material discarded by the army. Their trail was plain, so we followed it all the way to the Little Missouri. Just before crossing the Little Missouri, we went through rough country. There we found oats, clothing, and harness; it looked as though the men had spent a long time there making the road. We found good bridles, reins, and tents which we took. All of us were well supplied. From there we rode to Like-a-Chicken-Tail Butte. This was one of the places where we usually got red paint. All in the party said they would need it when they captured the one lodge. From there we followed the west bank of the Little Missouri River a ways, then crossed and camped on the bank, all the time going up the river. The country abounded with elk, antelope, and blacktail deer. We were never short of meat.

Soon we could see Cedars Facing Each Other Buttes. There we killed two elk, for we were afraid we might not find the tepee at once and might need meat while we were scouting around for it. There we built a sweat lodge and dried our meat in it with heated stones, for we did not dare shoot game when in the vicinity of the enemy. The scouts constantly traveled ahead of us, headed by Yellow Robe and assisted by Foolish Man and Rattlesnake. On the third day after drying the elk meat, they came back running to inform us that they had found where a tepee had been and that the coals were still hot. They said they could still see the place where the horses had been picketed.

When Puts Away His Hair reached the site of the tepee, he went to the west side of the tepee ring to fast and cry. He cried until the next noon.

Then he pointed to the Sun and said, "Old Man, what you have given me, you have also taken away." Then he turned to the Young Wolves and said, "Now, my Young Wolves, this is the place designated by my medicine. It would not be good policy to follow this enemy. We could catch him at his next stop but that would be beyond the authority given me by my medicine. I might be harmed and some of you Young Wolves might be killed. Young Wolves, I am going to turn back, but you may go on if you wish. Old Man gave me this lodge (one family), but now he has taken it back again."

When he made that decision, Sitting Elk[5] decided to go on as leader and took with him Yellow Robe, Foolish Man, and No Arm. They went on for one day when they found the camp fire again burning. Sitting Elk was leader, but he decided that in view of the fact that another had been given the lodge, it would be dangerous to them.

He said, "By the looks of things, the enemy is wise to us. I don't want to

5. Hidatsa Hide-beating bundle-owner.

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lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth. Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little.

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One-time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

[428] 16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums.

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

6. The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

7. Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 778 159 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets. He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] 796 778 241 Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 241 784 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his mother's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but, since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

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Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back.

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe.

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were
●159 Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

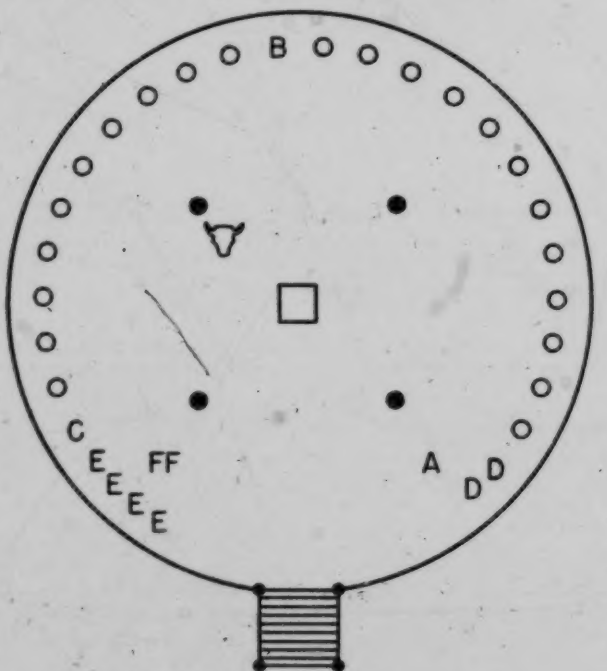
Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in
796 early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe;
159 they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 21.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

● 159 In a former Letter I gave some account of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), second chief of the Mandans, whom I said I had painted at full length, in a splendid costume. I therein said, also, that "this extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant, and gentlemanly in his deportment—handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of all his battles painted on it, which would fill a book of themselves if they were properly enlarged and translated."

I gave you also, in another epistle, an account of the manner in which he invited me to a feast in his hospitable wigwam, at the same time presenting me a beautifully garnished robe; and I promised to say more of him on a future occasion. My readers will therefore pardon me for devoting a Letter or two at this time, to a sketch of this extraordinary man, which I will give in as brief a manner as possible, by describing the costume in which I painted his portrait; and afterwards reciting the most remarkable incidents of his life, as I had them from the Traders and the Indian agents, and afterwards corroborated by his own words, translated to me as he spoke, whilst I was writing them down.

The dress of Mah-to-toh-pa then, the greater part of which I have represented in his full-length portrait, and which I shall now describe, was purchased of him after I had painted his picture; and every article of it can be seen in my Indian Gallery by the side of the portrait, provided I succeed in getting them home to the civilized world without injury.

Mah-to-toh-pa had agreed to stand before me for his portrait at an early hour of the next morning, and on that day I sat with my palette of colours prepared, and waited till twelve o'clock, before he could leave his toilette with feelings of satisfaction as to the propriety of his looks and the arrangement of his equipments; and at that time it was announced, that "Mah-to-toh-pa was coming in full dress!" I looked out of the door of the wigwam, and saw him approaching with a firm and elastic step, accompanied by a great crowd of women and children, who were gazing on him with admiration, and escorting him to my room. No tragedian ever trod the stage, nor gladiator ever entered the Roman Forum, with more grace and manly dignity than did Mah-to-toh-pa enter the wigwam, where I was in readiness to receive him. He took his attitude before me (PLATE 64), and with the sternness of a Brutus and the stillness of a statue, he stood until the dark-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 145]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ko-mo-kon*.

The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

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was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims.

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting———

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand.

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet.

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours

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159 that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honourable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned on it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

This robe, with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there pourtrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe. Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth; and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true

And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle-scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA (PLATE 65).

159 721 212 1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war-paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.*

2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in presence of a large

* The reader will see in PLATE 65, an accurate drawing of this curious robe, which now hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, and on the following pages, each group numbered, and delineated on a larger scale, which are *fac-similes* of the drawings on the robe.

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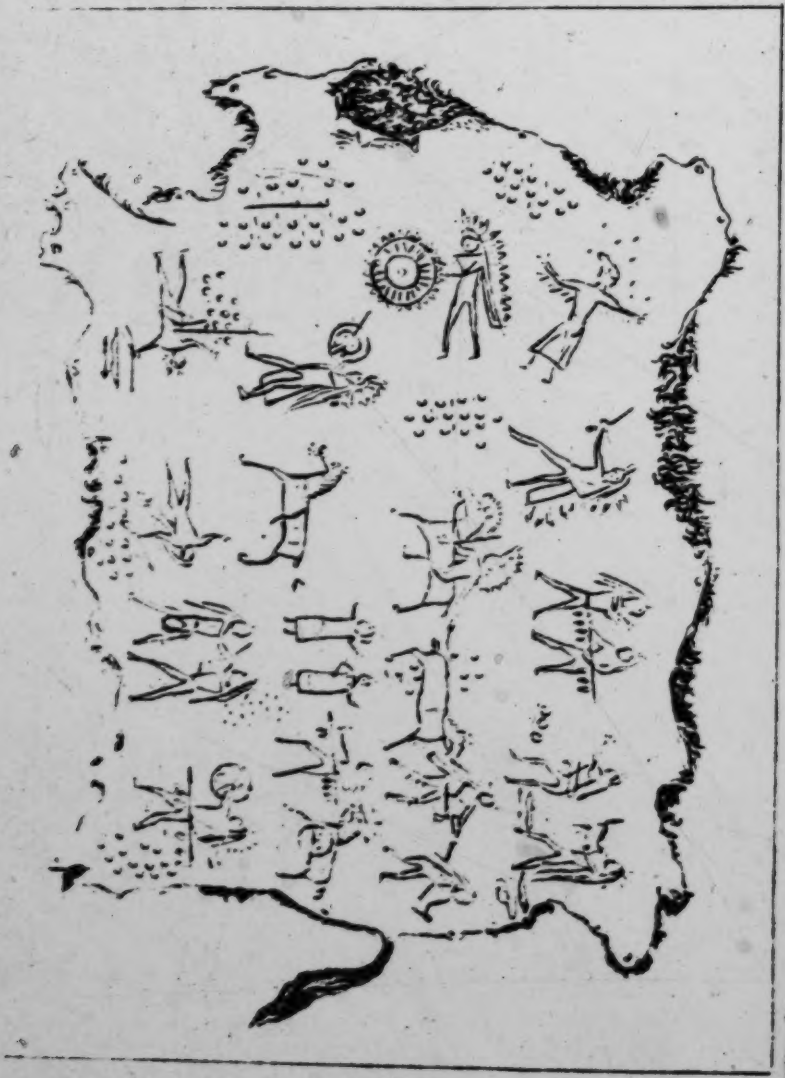

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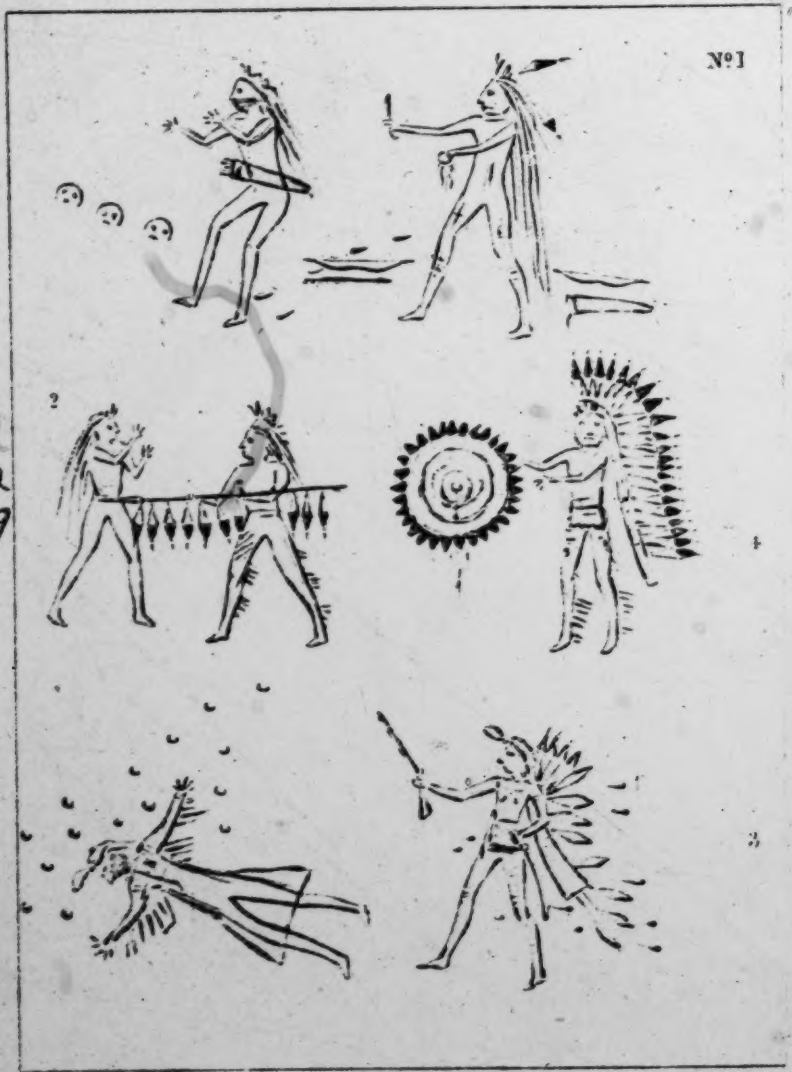

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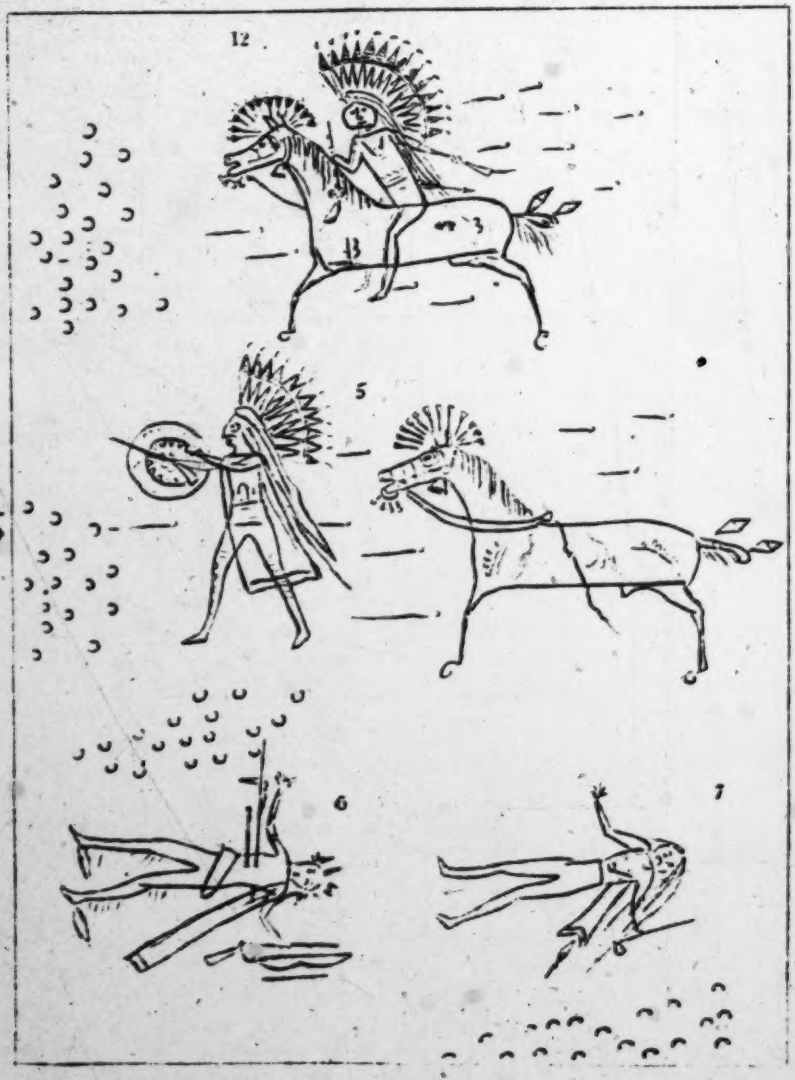

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159 party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance with eagles' quills on it.

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212 3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot-tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

4. Shienne chief with war-eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late, fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse tracks.

6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it: he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front.

159 The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this remarkable man's life, and is well attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was by him brought into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

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It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontroulable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh,

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●159 721 and called loudly for revenge. "Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and shew you the blood of Won-ga-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-ga-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother."

With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hand; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He travelled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and laying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he retired to bed with his wife: he saw him light his last pipe and smoke it "to its end"—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village awhile in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly, but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco-pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times enquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? to which, he as many times replied, "It's no matter; let him eat, for he is probably hungry."

[574] Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these Northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his

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way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he rose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie! The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthening his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and prayed fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning, at sunrise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and shewed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-ga-tap suspended from its handle

Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my Gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken:—"The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagle's quills."

In the portrait, of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position, and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with, the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation:—"That quill (said he) is great *medicine!* it belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day!"

"Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?"

"Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him."

7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the Fur Traders' Fort, a short time previous.

8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or four bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to single combat, in presence of the two war-parties; they fought on horseback with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder-horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they

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159 721 212 dismounted and fought single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle, the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was shewing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

159 721 A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast his reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans, "What! have we come to this? we have dogged our enemy two days, and now when we have found them, are we to turn about and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa! you may all go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone!"

During this manœuvre, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war-party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know "who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?"

"I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans."

"I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?"

"Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?"

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"My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war-eagle's tail!"

"You have said enough."

The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other! both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa drew off his powder-horn, and by holding it up, shewed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; *his* horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and others in their arms; but both protected their *bodies* with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart: his rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne, seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on!—a few shots more were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield; drew and brandished his naked knife!

"Yes!" said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw *his* shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—*he* grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! his bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of it was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.*

* This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now

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159 721 212 9. Several hundred Minatarrees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assinneboins—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired, and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses! He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot-tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse-tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of "*the four bears*," as the Assinneboins said he rushed on like four bears.

10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbeway village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for awhile by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? and his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

11. A large party of Assinneboins entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minatarrees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which burst—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assinneboin is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assinneboins in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valour was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honour of a victory.

This feat is seen in the centre of the robe—head-dress of war-eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand, he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and the several others mentioned above, he bears the honourable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa or four bears, interpreted by J. Kipp from the words of the hero while sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented.

hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in PLATE 99, *a*.